[For information on the Ukrainians in Rumania, 1918-1940, see: 8: Fedenko, RD1 Ukraine, cat. 116, pp. 58-59. -- Analyst]

1: Braham S-4 (no date) 1954 ED1 Rumania ED1

the establishment of rest-homes, sanatoria, and cultural establishments (Article 78). The right to maintenance in old age and in case of sickness or disability is ensured by the development of social insurance and free medical service (Article 79). The right to education is ensured by universal, compulsory, and free elementary education and by the system of state scholarships awarded to deserving students (Article 80).[6] Equality of rights in all spheres of economic, political, and cultural activity is guaranteed to all citizens irrespective of their nationality, sex, or race. Any transgression of these provisions by the manifestation of race-hatred, chauvinism, or discrimination is punishable by law (Article 81).[7]

Some distinction was made at the beginning with regard to the German ethnic group, which had actively collaborated with Nazi Germany. The original decision to expel the Germans from the country, however, was officially changed in December, 1948, when the Rumanian Communist Party decided to replace the denunciation of the German minority as a whole and encourage instead the class struggle within its ranks. The resolution of the Party maintained that the "struggle against their own bourgeoisie . . . (would) open a new perspective to the German working population of Rumania, working alongside the Rumanian people and other nationalities."[8]

Whereas at the beginning Zionism enjoyed a tremendous popularity and even received latent, if not active, support from the Communist-dominated government during the Jewish-Anglo-Arab disturbances in Palestine, the above quoted resolution on the national question also declared:

"Zionism of any color is a political nationalist and reactionary movement of the Jewish bourgeoisie, which tries to isolate the Jewish working people from the other peoples and to hinder them in their struggle against capitalism in the ranks of the anti-imperialist camp."

Notwithstanding the legal and constitutional provisions relating to the defense of the rights of nationalities and minorities,[9] the official policies of the Communist Party in regard to these questions have been based on the tenets of Leninism-Stalinism. While the development of national cultures and the use of national languages in all the fields of cultural and political endeavors are encouraged, the guiding principle is that of "socialism." "Na-

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[6] The system of education underwent drastic changes. See "The Perversion of Education in Rumania" published by the Rumanian National Committee, Washington, D.C., July, 1950.

[7] See Law No. 86 of February 7, 1945 (Statute for Nationalities) and Law No. 630 of August 6, 1945, in the Yearbook on Human Rights for 1946, United Nations, (1947) 248–49 and 249–51, respectively.

[8] La Roumanie Nouvelle, Bucharest, No. 14, December 30, 1948.

[9] As an apparent concession to the Hungarian minority in Rumania, the Constitution also provides for the establishment of a Magyar Autonomous Region (Articles 19–21) in the territory inhabited by compact Magyar and Székely population, including the districts of Ciuc, Gheorgheni, Odorhei, Reghin, Sangiorgiu de Padure, Sft. Gheorghe, Targu-Mures, Targu-Secuesc and Toplita.

1: Braham S-4 (no date) 1954 ED1 Rumania ED1

641 563 tional culture" from the Leninist-Stalinist point of view is a culture *national only in form* and *socialist in content* and aims at the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.[10]

In fact, this principle has been legally formulated in Paragraph (j) of Article 17 of the new Rumanian Constitution according to which the state

> "ensures the development of the culture of the Rumanian people and of the culture of the national minorities, *socialist in content, national in form.*" (emphasis supplied)

641 [563] Women are given equal rights with men in all spheres of cultural, economic, or political activities. The institution of marriage and the family is protected by the state, which grants aid to mothers of large families and unmarried mothers (Article 83). Freedom of conscience and religious worship is guaranteed. The school is separated from the church; except for the training of the personnel of the religious denominations, no congregation may open or maintain [798] institutions of general study (Article 84). The constitutional provisions relating to freedom of conscience are rendered practically meaningless by virtue of Decree No. 177, Establishing General Regulations for Religious Cults, of August 3, 1948, and the Law on the Organization of the Ministry of Cults, of February 5, 1949. According to the Decree, all religious cults must be recognized by the Presidium, which must approve the statute of organization of the respective cult. The Ministry of Cults, the organ through which the Party exercises its control over religious denominations, is empowered to "supervise and control all religious cults and their institutions, and the special religious education for the training of all personnel of religious cults, the property and funds of any nature belonging to cults, as well as to confirm (or deny) the appointment of the entire permanent and temporary staff of religious cults, and to act as intermediary for relations and exchanges of information between cults in the country and abroad" (Article 1 of the Law for the Organization of the Ministry of Cults). The implementation of these provisions has resulted in the unequivocal subserviency of the cults to the regime.[11]

641 The inviolability of the home, the privacy of correspondence (Article 88) and of the citizen is guaranteed. No person may be placed under arrest without the decision of a court or "of the procurator" (Article 87). This assurance of the inviolability of the person is subject to the exclusive privilege of the Party or of its affiliated organizations to nominate candidates in the election of judges and the arresting power of the Prosecutor General, which is independent of the courts. Since there can be no writ of habeas corpus against the Procurator General—always a loyal servant of the Party—it evidently follows that extrajudicial arrest of any individual is within his discretion (see Article 8 of Law No. 6 of June 2, 1952).

Hand-in-hand with the rights enumerated above, the Constitution specifies

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[10] J. Stalin, Marxism and the National Question (1942) 207.

[11] For details see "Persecution of Religion in Rumania" published by the Rumanian National Committee, Washington, D. C., 1949.

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6. The Christians of Old Rite

The name "Christians of Old Rite" is applied to a group of dissenters who originally belonged to the Muscovite Orthodox Church, broke away from it to some extent in the 17th century and, because of persecution, left Russia and settled at various times on the territory of the present day Romania. They are generally called in Russian raskolniki (shismatics) staroobriadtsi (old believers or followers of the old rite), and in Romanian Lipovani (from the name of Bessarabian town Lipova) or muscali. They Russians by nationality of the great Russian Branch and in the new place of settlement up to the present time preserved their language, dress, habits and customs. The schism was the result of the revision of the church books undertaken in the middle of the 17th century by Moscow Patriarch Nicon. The idea of the reform was to eliminate from the liturgical books in circulation in Russia erroneous deviations from the books used in other Eastern Orthodox Churches and correct in the same some local departure from the established ritual. "The Christians of the Old Rite" are the descendants of those Russians who refused to accept these corrections and stubbornly adherred to the practices hitherto customary in the Russian Church. Originally, there were no dogmatic or canonical differences. But with the time those adhering to the old customs became divided into a large number os sects, some of which went very far from the teachings of the Orthodox Church and even Christianity. There are among them sects which completely deny priesthood, sacraments

and any obligation toward the State including taxes and military service. In any event, those who settled abroad broke away from any administration connection with the Moscow hierarchy but did not join any other established Eastern Orthodox Church. Only a part of those remaining in Russia reunited with the official Russian Orthodox Church in the 1830's. Those are the so-called "edinovertsi."

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However, those who settled in the Romanian Eastern provinces and their descendants continued their life in religious communities separately from the Romanian society and from the Russian Church. As they were opposed to any assimilation or unification with the Romanian Orthodox Church, they have been treated as a separate religious denomination. The religious tolerance has been granted by documents several times.

This church succeeded in organizing closed religious communities in parishes, in building churches, establishing monasteries and in some sects even establishing a certain hierarchy. But the movement did not have its own Divinity Schools and many sects were not willing to train the priests in Romanian or Russian schools.

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After the enactment of the Law No. 54 of 1928, the dignitaries of the Church of the Old Rite prepared a Constitution and by-laws and submitted it to the Romanian Government for approval in order to become recognized as a denomination. Up until 1942 they repeatedly tried to get this recognition and thus transform a de facto tolerance into the de jure recognition. Because of political reasons and suspicions of disloyalty, this status has never been granted.

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3: Roberts S-4 (no date)1951 EDl Rumania EDl

668 economy. It is something like a cancerous growth in an organism which arises from some chronic irritation, takes on a life of its own, displays great dynamism for a time, and ultimately is destructive of the body which produced it. If such an analogy be fair, it is necessary not to confuse an analysis of the unsolved problem with a justification of the fascist response, or to regard fascism as an inexplicable evil possessing the body of an innocent.

In its resort to the nonrational, fascism makes an appeal to the spontaneous, the organic, the primitive, and the mythical, to the instinctive rather than the logical aspects of human and social experience. From these it gains its emotional force and appeal. At the same time, the appeal to the natural and the traditional is itself an artificial and somewhat self-conscious act; the effort to reinvoke the spontaneous is itself not a wholly spontaneous act. Thus, fascism does not originate in the lowest and most backward strata of society but is usually in its initial stages an intellectual movement. In its origins at least it is not the creation of a nation or a social group which is at the bottom of the heap, but rather appears among those nations, social groups, or individuals which have advanced to the extent of being aware of their position and at the same time of being resentful and frustrated.

● 563 668 Conditions favorable to the various manifestations of fascism were certainly not lacking in Rumania. The struggle to achieve an independent national existence, the prolonged insecurity as a small state, the effort not only to escape the shadow of the great powers but to maintain a position in the scrambling of the Balkan states—all these led to an intense political nationalism which easily boiled over into chauvinism. The ethnic confusion of southeastern Europe and especially Rumania's sense of isolation in the "great sea of Slavs" produced a strong ethnic nationalism. Anti-Semitism had been endemic in Rumania since its appearance as an independent state; the Congress of Berlin had obliged the new Rumanian government to amend the constitution to grant Jews citizenship. The Jewish problem in Rumania was not a simple one. Especially in Moldavia there had been a rapid influx of Jews, largely from Russian Poland, in the nineteenth century; the population of the urban centers was largely Jewish; most of the commercial activities were carried on by the Jews. This situation, combined with Rumanian nationalism and the desire for self-assertion, produced the perfect atmosphere for anti-Semitism. The national literary movement at the end of the nineteenth century had a strong anti-Semitic tone. Professor Cuza, the Rumanians liked

3: Roberts S-4 (no date)1951 ED1 Rumania ED1

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to say, was preaching the gospel of anti-Semitism while Hitler was still an infant.

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But if nationalism and anti-Semitism are the constant handmaids of fascism, they do not wholly describe it. The element in fascism giving it its significance to the twentieth century is its response to the challenge of industrialism. It is for this reason that of the various political currents of pre-1914 Rumania populism had the closest affinity to some of the later manifestations of Rumanian fascism.[1] The populist response to this challenge, for all the specific rational arguments it may have advanced regarding the economic advantages of peasant farming, was fundamentally negative in its idealization of the unspoiled peasant and in its hostility to industry and the capitalist Golgotha. To these it added a strong cultural nationalism, a tendency to anti-Semitism, and that special characteristic of later fascism, a hatred of Marxism. To be sure, fascism is not generally anti-industrial. The tensions of contemporary industrial society impinge in different ways on different countries. But in the case of Rumania, with its particular position vis-à-vis industrial society, the fascist response in its most characteristic form involved this negation and an exaltation of the peasant.

During the interwar period Rumanian fascism developed in two phases. A number of fascist groups appeared immediately after the First World War, principally among students and the military, as a part of the general social turmoil brought about by the war. At that time fascism developed its leadership but did not become a mass movement. A second phase appeared with the depression; fascism broadened its influence and in the course of the 1930's increasingly dominated the political horizon. It took innumerable forms in Rumania: as an element in a larger political party, as a conscious imitation of foreign fascism, or as an authentic Rumanian fascist movement. In the first case, various manifestations of fascism, such as extreme chauvinism or anti-Semitism, appeared as a tendency in one of the established parties and often led to a schism. The defections of Octavian Goga and later of Vaida Voevod from the National Peasants may be taken as examples. In those cases where it took the form of an imitation of foreign fascism it was merely following the Rumanian practice of borrowing from the more developed European states.

An interesting example of borrowed fascism was the short-lived Fascia Națională Română, which began as a student organization

1. See above, p. 147.

4:Fleure S-5 (no date)1936 EDl Rumania EDl

PLATE VI

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A group of Corbu children. The girls are Roumanians, the boys Gipsies, the broad-headedness of the former contrasting markedly with the narrow-headedness of the latter. *Photo: R. A. Pelham.*

A group of peasants at the Borsec Fair. The girl in the foreground is a Szekler, her costume contrasting with those of the Roumanian women behind. *Photo: Miss M. Oddie.*

[facing page 45]

242 A MARKED FEATURE is the comparative absence of chimneys.
374 The cooking is done in an outhouse, no doubt to minimise the risk of fire, but the dwelling house is generally heated by a stove, the smoke from which passes up through the ceiling in an iron pipe and then escapes into the open air through holes cut in the gable ends or, in the case of a hipped roof, through a small louvre.

343 THE OUTHOUSES are for the most part simple structures and call for no special comment.

511 CLEANLINESS and simplicity are the keynotes of the domestic economy. Household effects are kept down to a minimum, but upon their manufacture an enormous amount of time and skill is lavished, especially in the case of textiles. The skilfully-woven designs on the tapestries and pillows shown Plate XVI are an illustration of such effort.

POPULATION.

161 ACCORDING to the 1930 census Corbu had a population of
563 1,563, distributed among 358 households. The majority of the inhabitants are, of course, Roumanians, for the commune lies right on the fringe of the Szekler country. In spite of having lived in close association with the Roumanians for many generations, however, the Szeklers are easily distinguished by their dress, their physical type (though this is by no means an infallible guide), their adherence to Roman Catholicism, and, of course, their language. Although culturally there is an appreciable difference between the Roumanian and Szekler peasantry, there is to-day an even wider gap between these folk and the Tsiganes or Gipsies who form a much smaller, though very interesting, minority.
142 Generally speaking, the Roumanians contribute a dark, and the Szeklers a fair, element to the broad-headed population, whereas the Gipsies are for the most part distinctly long-headed and very dark. There is an equally well-marked difference on economic grounds, for both Roumanians and Szeklers are essentially peasants, whereas the Gipsy, being landless, is compelled to seek a livelihood by trading, unless he be either smith or musician, following the traditional pursuits of his forbears (see Plate VI).

342 THE HOUSES occupied by Gipsies, while resembling in style
563 those of the peasants, can usually be recognised by the

342 absence of small fields, although a vegetable garden is a
563 normal feature. Most of them are grouped together in a small colony on a piece of steeply-sloping ground near the western end of the village that could not be used for agricultural purposes, thus emphasising the fact that they constitute an exotic element living on the outskirts of the community (see Plate XII and Fig. 11).

311 THERE is no emigration from Corbu, but the tendency is to extend cultivation by forest-cutting. A good deal of land in the Bistricioara valley is still available.

II. FARMING ACTIVITIES

THE LAND AND INHERITANCE.

428 FARMING in Corbu is carried on essentially for subsistence
241 rather than for profit. Large-scale cultivation with its attendant economies would in any case be difficult in such an environment, but it is rendered impossible by a land tenure system, intimately bound up with laws of inheritance, which permits the subdivision of land from generation to generation. On the death of the father the widow receives a quarter of the estate, the remainder being divided equally amongst all the children. Alternatively, the latter take over their portion on marriage, but the result in each case is the same—the peasant holdings not only decrease in size but portions of the same holding may be widely separated. For it does not even follow that all the land surrounding a farmstead necessarily belongs to the family residing there. It did, of course, when the holding was first formed, but marriage has in most cases added complications. A portion of the holding, for example, may belong to a married daughter living elsewhere in the village and her husband will then come periodically to cultivate it as part of his estate. Much time is wasted in this way, so wherever possible an interchange of plots is arranged, especially where the parties to the marriage belong to different villages.

423 IN a register covering about 207 hectares of privately owned land there were 133 parcels registered, sometimes more than one in the name of a particular person. Of the 133, 56 were less than one hectare each, but at least 8 of these parcels were accessories to other holdings and those owners

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDI Rumania EDI

543 through a corner of the fair-ground as it begins its journey northwards. The fair-ground extends from the bridgehead, where in former times there must have been a ford, southwards for an indefinite distance between river and railway. A tributary stream which joins the Argeș at the bridge is named, after the fair, Valea *Târgul*. From the bridge a lane winds southwards to the rows of buildings and sheds which
256 constitute the permanent nucleus of the fair. Here is the corn mill, perhaps once dependent on power from the river, but now driven by electricity. We may note in passing that among the many survivals in the Carpathians is the horizontal water-wheel, used here as in Norway to turn corn mills. The mill consists of a log-hut erected directly over a stream
543 or a branch of a river. The sale of cereals, chiefly maize, is
443 also conducted by the mill, at the entrance to the fair, and there are stores of building materials, fruit, rock-salt and charcoal.

Rows of permanent open-sided sheds face each other along the "main street" of the fair, and are hired for the duration by merchants and caterers. Other goods—mostly those brought by peasants—are displayed in improvised booths or exposed on the ground by the wayside. Further on, the inevitable amusements are concentrated in a corner of their own, the stalls in this section increasing in number throughout the week, until pleasure becomes the chief business by the last days of the fair. This is the natural culmination of events which begin with the sale of cattle in the opening days; the "order of the fair" is a traditional feature of such gatherings everywhere.

543 But in Roumania there is another element which contributes
326 to the variety of the fair—the gipsies who pitch their camps
● 563 behind the booths and hawk trinkets or unobtrusively engage in metal-work and wood-carving. They appear to keep apart from the rest. To them the food-stallholders bring their copper pots, used for boiling fat, for retinning, while the peasants drive up the draught oxen which may need to be reshod. The tinning is done over an improvised hearth and a handful of charcoal; the shoeing—by the bridge-head—requires somewhat more elaborate equipment in the shape of
[735] a forge and a post and ropes for felling the oxen. Finally, squatting by the wayside, or actively exhibiting their sores, there are the beggars and cripples, who complete the human picture.

scales against a popular government as was the case with General Averescu's party in 1926. Dr Lupu refutes the imputation levelled against him of being an opportunist and has declared on a memorable occasion that the maxim "the wolf may change his skin but not his habits," was wrongly applied to him. His subsequent conduct, however, belied to a certain extent this solemn declaration which he made in October, 1926. It is to be hoped that he may dispel such misgivings as may exist and show himself in action as staunch a friend of the peasantry as he is in speech. Though his advocacy of inflation and of non-payment of the State's foreign debts is a policy that does not inspire overmuch confidence in his political discernment.

The Socialist and Communist Parties.—These are altogether insignificant and unlikely to exert in influence on the destinies of the country so long as they fail to attract the peasantry within their orbit. . . . A vigorous and well-organized peasant group such as the existing National Peasant party is the safest barrier against Communism.

The Minority Parties.—These have been constituted as a means of defence of the cultural life of the various national minorities in Rumania. Once the cultural life of these finds its desiderata satisfied, the representatives of the minorities would probably be absorbed by the Rumanian political parties, as there would remain no reason for their continuing a separate political existence.

So long, however, as the legitimate aspirations of these are not satisfied, their political representatives will not scruple to strike bargains with any reactionary force through whose patronage they may hope to snatch some particles of the rights which are being denied them. It is surprising that Bucarest politicians should be so obtuse as to fail to perceive how indispensable it is to grant satisfaction to the minorities if they are really intent on effectively disarming reaction in Rumania which so far has found in these groups an ever-ready and potent support.

Anti-Semite organizations presided over by M. A. C. Cuza.—Among these the most important is the L.A.N.C. group (Christian League for National Defence). One may judge of the moral standing of this individual by an article

665 published in the "Cuvantul" of May 29th, 1927, in which it
563 was reported that the ecclesiastical authorities of Bucovina as well as those of Jassy had refused to collaborate with M. Cuza, because he had converted the club-house of his party at Jassy into a brothel. The paper proceeded to give various unsavoury, as well as pungent, details of the regulations prevailing in this "Christian" League club—regulations, which, according to the "Cuvantul" had been drafted by M. Cuza himself, to the immense benefit of the institution and its "pensionnaires." According to this paper this document serves as a striking testimonial to the organizing capacity possessed by this .... gentleman. M. Cuza has been elected as a deputy and early in October, 1931, he delivered a violent diatribe against the League of Nations; a very inconsiderate proceeding seeing that Rumania's salvation may well depend on the League and the aid of international finance.

THE ETHNIC MINORITIES AND THEIR GRIEVANCES

563 Rumania shares with Czechoslovakia and Esthonia the distinction of treating her ethnic minorities with a spirit of tolerance that speaks much in favour of the Rumanian people, who, as most impartial observers will admit, are distinguished by their kindliness and good humour. Most of the complaints one hears of, and they are numerous, arise mainly from the general maladministration from which all sections of the community suffer, and for this reason it is not the Hungarians, nor the Germans, nor the Bulgarians of the Dobrudja who are most vociferous in their lamentations, but strange to say, the Rumanians of Bessarabia. A whole book could easily be written on their tribulations, and as their woes are representative in an intensified form of those endured by other sections of the community, it may be judicious to dwell on them rather than on grievances specifically formulated by Magyars or Bulgarians, as one will thus avoid the imputation of partiality for the latter.

563 Without wishing to cast any disparaging reflections on
642 Rumania one cannot help deploring the failure to take

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1

regional differences into account. The persistent endeavour to create a strong centralization has been accompanied by parallel attempts to choke all natural expression of local life, contributing thereby to the drying up of the springs of national vitality and instilling in the mass of the people a spirit of apathy or of scarcely disguised hostility. Had the reverse policy been adopted, there is little doubt that the various provinces would have fostered local institutions on their own lines, and would have given a better structure to the whole system of administration by providing it with a backbone of local interest and control which it otherwise will continue to lack. At any rate it becomes daily more obvious that the decision taken at Versailles to transfer high-cultured communities completely out of harmony with Rumanian methods to Rumanian rule, without securing for them a certain degree of autonomy, was particularly unfelicitous for their members.

Whenever general elections are impending, the ethnic minorities are solicited by the various Rumanian parties for their votes, in exchange for which they secure assurances that their aspirations will be completely satisfied. The election over, however, these alluring promises are forgotten, as are also similar electoral pledges made to Rumanian electors. If the hopes of the ethnic minorities were not elated every now and then by such extravagant engagements they would feel less keenly the injustice that had been inflicted on them. As matters stand, Rumanian parliamentary candidates at election time serve to keep this wound open, which, with a little more skilful handling on their part, would have had a better chance of healing.

The main grounds for complaints in the case of Hungarians and Germans is the subject of their language. They find that a too exclusive use of the Rumanian tongue is insisted on in the various administrations as well as in the Tribunals, and that their children do not enjoy the same facilities to pursue their studies in their vernacular as when Transylvania formed a part of Hungary. All this is true, but it cannot be gainsaid that the Hungarian and German minorities are infinitely better off than is the German minority in the Italian

563 Tyrol, or the Ukrainians in Poland, for they at least possess a large number of schools and churches, mainly in communes [658] in which they form the majority of the population. At a time when the Rumanian government has been obliged for reasons of economy to close down several hundreds of schools and colleges, it would not be fair to impugn it for a shortage [423] of Magyar schools in Transylvania. The burning grievance, of course, remains the agrarian reform, not only because it has dispossessed Hungarian and German owners, but also because the depreciation of the Rumanian currency has practically nullified the paltry compensation they were accorded. Furthermore, religious establishments possessed extensive domains which likewise were expropriated and [659] have thereby lost most of their revenues which formerly were employed in the upkeep of churches, educational missions, and benevolent societies. This naturally constitutes a source of bitter recriminations, for both Hungarians and Germans are inclined to ascribe the treatment meted out to their religious establishments as dictated by the desire of the Rumanians to discourage their cultural activities, and to hinder the normal development of their nationality by depriving it of pecuniary resources. It is a great pity that so far no law has been framed to define the status of minorities in Rumania though this has been persistently promised them. Such an enactment would formulate once and for all the respective privileges and duties of both parties, and there would be no further grounds for recrimination except in the case of a patent violation of its clauses. The National Peasant party had prepared such a scheme which, if enacted, would have gone a long way to settle this vexed question; unfortunately after its abandonment of power it has apparently been forgotten.

With the advent of the Iorga-Argentoianu government the laudable initiative of creating a sub-secretariat for minorities was taken, to which post, M. Brandsch, a member of the German minority was appointed. He seems to have carried out his duty very conscientiously, as he has repeatedly been attacked by the ultra-nationalist press of Bucarest for his disregard of the superior interest of the Rumanian cause, and for overduly favouring the minorities. There seems to

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Transylvania

be a determination in government circles to go a long way to satisfy most of the just demands of the minorities and to avoid as much as possible giving cause for irritation; at least Professor Iorga's declarations in the Rumanian Chamber on Dec. 14th, 1931, can be regarded as inspired by a spirit of sincerity and goodwill that constitutes a sure basis for an understanding. Among other things he affirmed: "We have no desire to create hypocritical Rumanians out of minoritarians, for he who renounces his past and sells his soul in order to secure advantages, is no gain to the people to which he transfers his allegiance, but rather a corrosive poison for the soul of that people. We must not frighten the minorities by an oppressive policy on the part of the Rumanian State, and by an absence of fraternal sentiments on their behalf amongst the Rumanian people; for it is not by such means that we shall consolidate our position, but rather by collaborating with the minorities and by respecting their most elementary rights."

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Both the Hungarian and the German minorities constitute extremely valuable elements for furthering the general progress of the country, because, standing culturally higher than the Rumanian element in all domains of activity they can serve as examples to the latter. This is particularly noticeable in farming; the German villages especially constituting veritable model farms which have powerfully contributed to the general dissemination of the more advanced agricultural methods used in Transylvania.

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This intercourse between these three peoples has reacted very favourably on the Rumanians of Transylvania, who from every point of view stand at a much higher level than their brethren of the old kingdom. In fact, however unpalatable this truth may be to the latter, it must be frankly declared that the main chance of a regeneration in Rumanian political life can come only through a larger participation in it of the Transylvanians, who certainly have a clearer conception of their civic duties than is prevalent south of the Carpathians. The marked pre-eminence of the Transylvanians over other sections of the Rumanian people must be ascribed to their having been in contact with Germans and Hungarians, though the latter by their oppressive methods

563 did little to foster their civic development at the time when Transylvania formed a part of their kingdom, and this has been most lucidly exposed by Dr Seton-Watson in his book, " Corruption and Reform in Hungary." Nevertheless, this intercourse, whatever its momentary drawbacks may have been in the past, has influenced very favourably the Rumanian element, a matter that would seem to confirm once more the theory of Professor Wm. McDougall that " the development of the group spirit in general and of national self-consciousness in particular is favoured by, and indeed dependent upon, conditions similar to those which develop the self-consciousness of individuals, by intuition, by conflict, by compulsion, and by co-operation." (V. "The Group Mind," page 165.)

563 662 In general, it may be admitted that the minorities have been more favoured by the Bucarest Government than the Rumanian majority of Transylvania, for the latter, except during the time the Maniu Government was in power, was always in the ranks of the Opposition, and as such it could not reckon on obtaining any bounties, while the support of the minorities was very often secured by the dispensation of various privileges. Even in the economic field the minorities could reckon on a certain financial support which Budapest generously granted to their industrial and banking firms, while corresponding Rumanian establishments in Transylvania were stinted of all help from Bucarest because it was the policy of the Bratianus to stifle every enterprise that had not come within the orbit of the Liberal party, and for this purpose they did not hesitate to employ the most unscrupulous methods.

563 666 The Magyar minority is undoubtedly better off than the Rumanians of Transylvania from many points of view, and this is the reason why all Magyar propositions for offering the Hungarian throne to King Carol II have not been viewed favourably at Bucarest. It is felt that the Rumanian population has not yet been able to rise overmuch, from both the cultural as well as the economic point of view, and that it is still dominated by the Magyars. It is felt also that a personal union with Hungary under the common sceptre of a Rumanian King would mean the consolidation of the

supremacy which the Magyar still retains, and such an eventuality is fraught with danger for the Rumanian element in general, as it would tend to recreate a state of affairs similar to that existing before the war. Hungarian advances purporting to bring about the realization of such an eventuality have so far been coldly received, even those made by Count Bethlen to King Carol in person at Temişoara have not evoked a hearty response among Rumanians, either of Transylvania or of the old kingdom. The Magyar preponderance in urban districts of Transylvania became evident by the criticism with which the alteration of the law concerning the election of advisers in the Chambers of Commerce was met in 1929, when all these posts became elective instead of being partially nominatival. It was then reported that in the town of Cluj the Rumanians could count on only 20% in the commercial, and on only 30% in the industrial section of the Chamber, and it was proclaimed that measures ought to be taken to remedy the position of inferiority in which the Rumanian element had been placed, all the more so, since in other commercial and industrial centres, the position of the Rumanians was even worse than at Cluj.

Concerning these reported pourparlers for a personal union between Hungary and Rumania, it may be of interest to record what a Hungarian paper, the " Friss Hirek," published at Cluj, had to say on the meeting which took place at Temişoara between Count Bethlen and King Carol in 1932. In its issue of May 8th, 1932, dilating on this interview it stated among other things :—

" The negotiations concerning the personal union met with complete success and were based on the granting of independence to Transylvania under the leadership of Prince Michael, whose seat would be at Cluj, common Ministers for Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. These matters were definitely agreed to. King Carol was to take up his residence for six months at Budapest and for six months at Bucarest.

The independence of Transylvania satisfied Count Bethlen as it would solve the minority problem. Transylvanians would enjoy equal rights and the various denominations

563 would obtain equal grants, while officials would be nomin-
664 ated proportionately to the numbers of each nationality.

Count Bethlen, however, desired to justify the millions spent on the revisionist campaign and demanded the revision of frontiers, namely the retrocession of the Hungarian towns bordering on the frontier (Arad, Oradea-Mare, and Satu Mare). The advisers of King Carol considered that the present frontiers of Rumania were final, and in order that the idea of a personal union be rendered acceptable to the Rumanian people, all reference to a revision of frontiers should be dropped as it was sure to provoke a fiasco, all the more so since the Liberal party was known to be hostile to the idea of a personal union. The Rumanians would accept the scheme only in case Hungary agreed to recognize the actual frontiers without rectification and in exchange for the other concessions. It was on this point that the negotiations came to a standstill. Count Bethlen was bound by engagements towards the revisionist group. According to his conception, only Transylvania was to remain under Rumanian rule as a Duchy, while other parts were to revert to Hungary."

In conclusion the paper stated that "the interview left painful recollections with Count Bethlen who now talks of an alliance with Italy and Austria."

The Dobrudja.

563 If the state of the minorities in Transylvania may be stated
166 to be relatively satisfactory, taking into consideration the
657 general shortcomings of the Rumanian administrative
647 system, it is to be regretted that as much cannot be said of the Dobrudja, where both the Turkish and Bulgarian minorities, living in compact masses, have well-founded grievances. One of the main causes of dissatisfaction has been the ill-considered plan of the Rumanian Government to colonize southern Dobrudja with Kutso-Vlachs from Macedonia. Without making any adequate preparations to provide these people with dwellings, food and clothing, it proceeded to billet them in the small cottages of the Bulgarian and Turkish farmers which were barely sufficient for their owners. The newcomers being destitute, had no alternative to that of

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Dobrudja

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a life of rapine, a matter which led to bloody encounters followed by mass arrests of the local population. The latter had been further embittered by the State seizing one-third of their lands, no compensation whatever being given, even in cases of these lands carrying growing crops. Such was the tension that had been created that on the advent of the Maniu government, both M. M. Vaida-Voevod and Mihalache considered it imperative to intervene in order to put a stop to the abuses and the provocations that both Turks and Bulgarians were subjected to. The intercession of the leaders of the National Peasant Party caused extreme ill-feeling in Chauvinist circles which fomented a violent agitation against what was represented as treachery to the Rumanians. This culminated in the assassination of an under-secretary of State by a hot-headed student. The Maniu government had delegated a commission to study on the spot the complaints of the population of the Dobrudja and prepare a report, a summary of which was published in the "Adeverul" of March 4th, 1929. In this we read that "the enterprise of colonizing the Dobrudja had been left without control and had become a means of exploitation and the furthering of personal interests," that the system of quartering the colonists on the Bulgarian and Turkish inhabitants "led to an unbearable state of affairs causing endless conflicts." As for the situation of the colonists, the report shows that the ineptitude of the Rumanian authorities transcends all imagination, "out of 10,000 heads of families only 15 had received monetary help from the government, the lands that were to be allotted to the colonists remained in possession of State functionaries. The colonists had no houses nor timber wherewith to construct them." As a consequence of this report the Maniu Government created a special commissariat for building houses for the colonists, 1,257 of which were built in 1929, 938 during 1930, and 1,200 in the course of 1931, at an average cost of 44,000 lei each.

The situation, unfortunately has not improved, and murders of Turks and Bulgarians by the Kutso-Vlachs are frequent. What is most regrettable is that they are left practically unpunished, as has been the case with the murderer of one of the leaders of the Bulgarian minority, the

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[166] late C. M. Stephanov, who was also a member of the
657 Rumanian Senate. The main cause of the effervescence that
563 still subsists is this ill-advised scheme of planting the destitute
[647] Kutso-Vlachs on the farms of the aboriginal inhabitants, proof of which has been given by M. Georoceanu in a booklet he has published. M. Georoceanu was formerly a member of the Rumanian Senate during M. Maniu's tenure of office.

It may be added that the Bulgarians complain of not
[658] having a single school in their villages, and that when they presented petitions for opening such their signatories had
[659] been prosecuted. Bulgarian priests are no longer allowed to be nominated, and those that still remain are being gradually replaced by Rumanians who officiate naturally in their own language which is not understood by their flocks. A lesser
[204] wrong which receives the condemnation only of the intellectuals, is the ban on Bulgarian newspapers and periodicals. Their introduction into Rumania is prohibited, and though a few months ago the Bucarest press announced that this embargo would be raised, yet as late as April, 1932 the police authorities in the Dobrudja had received no intimation of
563 this commendable measure. It is obvious that all these
648 grievances could easily be removed with a little goodwill on
657 the part of the Rumanian government, and to the westerner it is incomprehensible that the latter should make no effort to safeguard the happiness of hundreds of thousands of human beings whose destiny has been entrusted to its hands. For it is not only the elementary duty of a government to care for its subjects, but in this case even political reasons dictate the following of a more humane and civilized policy. The bulk of the population being Bulgarian, and having for forty years enjoyed an independent existence, is utterly unaccustomed to such maladministration as it is now experiencing. It is therefore natural that it should be soliciting the intercession of the Bulgarian government under whose suzerainty it lived until recently. This is a course that creates friction between the two governments, keeps open an old sore, and embitters and strains relations between Bulgaria and Rumania. The former country would incur every sacrifice in order to ensure Rumania's friendship, and

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it is most regrettable that Rumania, on account of this constitutional impassibility from which she suffers, should neglect the accomplishment of a simple duty that would simultaneously ensure the pacification of a province and the friendship of a neighbouring State. Even Sir Ian Hamilton in one of his books extended this advice to Rumania: "If she values her life let her make it up with Bulgaria whilst she is in the gate." (The Friends of England, p. 130). But so far this soldierly exhortation has not been heeded.

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Bessarabia.

"Twelve years of Rumanian rule has alienated Bessarabia more than a century of Russian administration," declared Constantine Stere, the veteran Bessarabian politician who may be considered as the mouthpiece of the population of that hapless region. If one wishes indeed, to form an idea of what the combined evils of corruption, ineptitude, nepotism, and inefficiency can bring upon a land he should visit Bessarabia. It is a standing disgrace, a festering sore, a danger point that will cause a fresh conflagration the moment the Russians across the Dniester can divert their attention from their economic plans to engage in world politics. Such is the desperation of the local population, their utter aversion to Rumanian misrule, the pessimism with which they regard every scheme emanating from Bucarest, that if the Russians would decide to cross the Dniester they would be hailed as liberators.

563 647

Not that the Bessarabians cherish any particular affection for the Russians and for communistic dogmas, but because there is after all a limit to human endurance to evils arising from such glaring maladministration. There is no hope for any amelioration; the Bucarest administration has demonstrated its incapacity to reform itself, and the only hope there may be of placating Bessarabia is the granting of a regional autonomy that may save her from casting longing glances at Bolshevik Russia across the Dniester. As the writer does not wish to be accused of exaggeration or of being imbued with unfriendly feelings towards Rumania, he will proceed to give a description of the position in Bessarabia by an interpolation of various excerpts culled from newspapers that he

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523 bought at random during his brief stays in Rumania. These
647 quotations have not been specially selected and they may be considered as generally descriptive of what is being said on Bessarabia in the Rumanian press. If one were to study the latter assiduously there is no doubt that a vast quantity of incriminating matter could easily be adduced to form a most damning indictment of the incapacity of Rumanian governments.

661 "Lupta," Dec. 8th, 1931:—After the union, the men who
563 were most compromised were dispatched there to work for
647 the spiritual unification of the nation; at any rate they were individuals utterly incapable of understanding the ideal or the scope of the mission which had been confided to them. The administrative authorities were constituted entirely of the scum of the political parties of the old kingdom. It is to these social dregs that the errand of infusing into the Bessarabians a sentiment of confidence in us was entrusted. How they fulfilled this mission, how they alienated even those who trusted us, is well known. Bessarabia was and remains a sort of land of promise for those desirous to grow rich quick . . . not by honest means . . . after a self-imposed exile accepted solely for this purpose. Enrichment being the sole initial and final aim of these propagandists sent out from the old kingdom, they inaugurate a state of affairs which conforms with their pursuits. Persecutions of all sorts, inquisitorial constraints of all manifestations of collective and individual liberty. All corners of Bessarabia were represented as fertile for the culture of Bolshevism. For thirteen years we have heard of nothing else concerning this province save terrorist plots and communist actions all purporting to aim at the dissolution of the Rumanian State. Those interested, created purposely a state of affairs that completely denaturalized existing facts and finally succeeded in imposing their conception on "the administrative machinery of Bessarabia," &c. The paper concludes by relating how workmen and intellectuals are persecuted, imprisoned, subjected to all sorts of vexations by the Rumanian authorities at Kichineff and at other urban centres.

The "Cuvantul" of Feb. 20th, 1929, designates Bessarabia as "the sick man of Rumania." The Bratianu

1 [Bessarabia with Rumania—Analyst] 2 [illegible—Analyst]

régime had consummated Bessarabia's ruin, and its people were dying of hunger. The irruption of the Rumanian army was not the triumphal arrival of a liberator but the invasion of a hunger-stricken horde. The requisitions for obtaining supplies both for the army and for the population of Moldavia, on account of the haste and disorder with which they were carried out, assumed the aspect of revolting spoliations and led the natives to ask "what sort of brothers are these hogs and these robbers?"

"Our army's attitude was both offensive and aggressive, in conformity with the usages of war, in short, that of an army of occupation in an enemy country. When the time came to organize the civil administration of Bessarabia, very few of the regular functionaries agreed to be transferred to a remote and unsafe province. . . . Adventurers, those who had nothing to lose and who were under the threat of being dismissed or imprisoned, accepted to join in this "campaign to Siberia" in the hope of being rehabilitated or of becoming rich. For a long time the transfer of a civil functionary to Bessarabia was considered as a redoubtable disciplinary sanction. . . . ."

"The Bessarabians have found out what elements we can contribute to the restoration of their former material prosperity. These are poverty, demoralization, political debauchery, a decade of violence, fraud and illegality. Hence the permanent hostility with which they regard us; a state of irritability which is maintained owing to the prevailing wretchedness."

The main responsibility for this astounding state of affairs should be ascribed to the Bratianus, who inaugurated and maintained this system for ten years. When finally they were ejected from office, their Bessarabian partisans began to quarrel among themselves and attack most virulently their former regional leader, M. Inculeț. They started a paper called "The Voice of Bessarabia" in 1929, in which their former leaders were denounced as vulgar and dangerous adventurers, robbers and criminals. As for their former local chief Inculeț, he was accused of having retired to Jassi in order to enjoy in peace the thousands of millions he had accumulated by a triple betrayal of Russia, Bessarabia, and

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Rumania. The paper concluded by an exhortation addressed to Bessarabians to evict Inculeț from the political arena of Bessarabia where he had operated as though this region had been an African colony, and the appeal concluded with the hortatory incitation "Eject this putrefaction from Bessarabia."

In spite of the severe financial crisis which afflicted this region, the fiscal agents of the government insisted on collecting taxes even when in years of drought the peasantry was destitute and utterly unable to pay. The methods employed were so barbarous that they provoked several interpellations in the Rumanian Chamber. During its sitting of Dec. 10th, 1926, M. V. Madgearu denounced the abusive and inquisitorial methods by which Bessarabian tax-payers had been sold up and his arraignment was confirmed by similar indictments formulated by a member of the (then) government majority.

In October, 1930, a revolt broke out in southern Bessarabia. The peasants of the village of Baimaklia, near the town of Kagui, revolted and burned down the residence of a big landowner because certain grazing lands were given to him by the State instead of being distributed among the peasants. That similar abuses are current may be inferred from an article in the "Aurora" of June 3rd, 1926, which is headed "The pauperization and humiliation of the Bessarabians," and in which it is related how certain State lands were put up for sale at Balți, and though the peasantry of six adjoining villages had combined and offered 400,000 lei more than three big landowners, the lands were allocated to the latter, obviously through favouritism. That State functionaries often act with an arbitrariness and brutality inconceivable in a civilized State may be illustrated by the Soroca affair, which is of quite recent occurrence. In January, 1932, six Jewish youths, inhabitants of Soroca, on the Dniester, after coming to terms with the frontier-guards as to the amount of the bribe they would have to pay to be allowed to escape into Russia, and after they had paid 40,000 lei, were ambuscaded and shot down. In order to instil terror into the local population, their bodies were hurled pell-mell on a sledge which was driven by a soldier

sitting on the corpses through the streets of Soroca and conveyed to the mortuary. Such barbarous conduct naturally aroused bitter indignation which was re-echoed in the Bucarest press and was qualified "as a premeditated massacre," and the Rumanian Government was severely censured for providing Russia by such acts, good motives for anti-Rumanian propaganda. ("Adeverul" 10th Jan. 1932.) Such cases do not seem to be rare, for the same journal in its issue for the 20th Jan. reports the perpetration of a similar outrage at Balţi, when two persons were shot down by the frontier guards after they had secured their tacit permission to cross into Soviet Russia. It is obvious that if Russia exerts such a magnetic attraction on the Bessarabians as to incite them to abandon their belongings, disburse considerable sums in tolls, and endanger their lives in order to gain admittance to what they consider a haven of comparative repose, conditions in Bessarabia must be truly unendurable. At any rate the Iorga-Argentoianu Government has not so far shown any disposition to grapple more vigorously than its predecessors in office with this aggravating question of Bessarabian maladministration; on the contrary it has followed meekly in the footsteps of its predecessors. Thus, in the "Adeverul" for Jan. 28th, 1932, we read of a protest of Bessarabian intellectuals who denounced the favouritism shown by the Government for two of its political friends, who, after being munificently supplied with funds, were dispatched to Bessarabia in order to start the publication of a newspaper whose ostensible object was the spreading of Rumanian culture in that province. This dilapidation of government funds in favour of "budgetivorous" persons having no connection whatever with Bessarabia was strongly resented by Bessarabian intellectuals, who deemed themselves the sole persons qualified to carry on such propaganda in what they considered as their private domain. Bucarest governments have always shown themselves incapable of facing grave questions seriously, and one ought not to be surprised at their dalliance with the question of Bessarabia. Their latest device for placating the Bessarabians was to create two new Under-Secretaries of State and fill these posts with natives of Bessarabia. "The new system,"

563 ironically remarked the "Adeverul," "of dealing with
661 the woes of Bessarabia consists of appointing a Minister for Bessarabia at Bucarest, while a Bessarabian whose sole qualification is that of having published a book of poems is nominated to the post of Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. This is the government's conception of putting a stop to the agitation in Bessarabia, but alas ! the satisfaction of two vanities does not mean that the problems appertaining to the region between the Pruth and the Dniester are approaching solution."

In another article the "Adeverul" takes the Government to task for creating fresh sinecures and sarcastically exclaims that Bessarabia must be happy since she has now two ministers. The Government felt constrained to declare that these two new posts would not create a very heavy additional charge on the budget as it had arranged that the Governor of Bessarabia would give up his salary to his new colleague, but the "Adeverul" retorted that if the Governor gave up his salary, he being a general, would draw a pension, so that there would still be an increase in expenditure, all the more so, since a salary had to be provided for the new Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. That the creation of posts for new under secretaries of State is highly unpopular may be seen from a report of a sitting of the Senate early in April, 1932, when Senator Banescu formally demanded the abolition of five such posts declaring that it was a shame to create new charges when the State had not the means wherewith to pay its pensioners. The Opposition was reported to have loudly applauded him, shouting "it is tragic, people are dying of hunger."

433 The dissatisfaction existing in Bessarabia has been intensified through the economic crisis which had become endemic in that province since its separation from Russia, and which the Rumanian authorities so far have done nothing to alleviate or to assuage. Bessarabia was one of the most fertile and productive provinces of the Russian Empire, the latter providing a ready market for Bessarabian produce. Its orchards and vineyards were famous and provided annually some 28,800 tons of fruit of a value of 5 milliard

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668 Bessarabians are popularly called) forming the most back-
177 ward section of the Rumanian people are mentally incapable of appreciating at their true value all the qualities which the Rumanian administration exhibits in its conduct towards populations whose goodwill it has set out to win. For the organs of the Rumanian State are inspired by a high purpose, that of converting these Moldovans of Bessarabia into loyal Rumanians, by inculcating in them a consciousness of the collective national will. When they shall finally see eye to eye with the various cultural missionaries which Bucarest has so far dispatched for their edification, then at last will loyalty and love follow, for loyalty after all is but the consciousness of oneness, and it is this consciousness of oneness that the Bucarest "Kulturträger" are attempting to impress on the Bessarabians.

668 These altruistic efforts, however, seem unavailing, for in January, 1932, a pan-Bessarabian congress of all parties and creeds was held at Kichineff, and delegates resolved to create a united Bessarabian front so as to impose on the Government which had done nothing for this province since its union with Rumania, the taking of certain measures designed to ameliorate the situation. M. Batsaria, a veteran Rumanian journalist, commenting on this congress in the "Adeverul" stated that a member of the cabinet had confided to him that this discontent was not peculiar to Bessarabia, but existed in all the new provinces. An atmosphere, which was in no way favourable to the realization of a complete spiritual unity among the inhabitants of Great Rumania had been created. And so long as the legitimate rights of all were not respected, and their just grievances remained unredressed, so long would unity be unattained.

The Jews.

[162] The Jewish minority numbers some 800,000 souls (accord-
563 ing to Winckler's racial statistics, 778,094) who are mainly
641 concentrated in the urban districts of Bessarabia, Moldavia, Bucovina, and the province of Maramureş. As petty trading, commerce and, to a large extent, banking is in their hands, all the more important towns have a numerous Jewish element in their population. The manifest disinclination of the Rumanians for commerce has permitted the

Jewish element to gain a place of importance in the life of the community, which has unfortunately provoked the resentment and jealousy of their Christian co-nationals and created a Jewish problem in Rumania. To counteract their economic influence they were refused political rights by the Rumanian Constitution of 1866, and though the Congress of Berlin obtained the abolition of this law, such obstacles were placed in the way of Jews wishing to acquire naturalization that only a few hundreds succeeded in obtaining this privilege by 1914. According to the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities which Rumania finally signed, the Rumanian nationality is conferred on all Jews in Rumania. The Jews have not followed the example of the Magyars and Germans, who have created political parties of their own, yet prejudice against them is pretty strong and has led to the formation of political groups which are purely anti-Semitic. The supporters of anti-Semitism are mainly recruited among students, and the universities have often been the scenes of ruthless and barbarous acts of violence. The leaders of the anti-Semitic leagues are unscrupulous individuals, who by pandering to the lowest instincts of the mob see a way to secure personal advantages for themselves. Thus the chief henchman of Cuza, the anti-Semitic leader, an individual named Codreanu, gained notoriety by shooting the Police Prefect of Jassi while the latter was doing his duty in suppressing a pogrom that had been organized in the capital of Moldavia.

The Jewish problem is purely economic, and this is the reason why student circles are so anxious to impose the "numerus clausus" in the Rumanian universities. They wish to eliminate potential rivals in the liberal professions as far as they possibly can. In many of these the Jewish element has certainly distinguished itself, especially in law and in medicine. Rumanian youth feels that the prominent position Jews hold in society is a serious obstacle to its advancement, and the methods adopted to eliminate this hindrance are certainly not always commendable. It should be added, however, that where Jews do not exist other races occupy their place, so that it is always the non-Rumanian elements which fill the more lucrative posts in the urban

districts. Thus in the Banat, and Transylvania, the Germans and Magyars dominate commerce and industry and Magyar influence has been so powerful that it has practically assimilated the Jews. In the lower Danubian ports and at Constantsa, it is the Greeks and Armenians who form the largest section of the commercial community, though in certain Danubian ports the Jewish element predominates.

These facts would tend unequivocally to show that the Rumanians do not possess the necessary perseverance that is indispensable for those who desire to engage in commerce. It would appear, too, that the French educational system which they have adopted helps to foster a contempt for all occupations which are not purely intellectual, and for these reasons Rumanians who claim to have received some degree of education look askance on all manual work. This apparent aversion for commerce explains to a certain extent the absence of a Rumanian middle class, an absence which ought to be remedied, for the country is deprived of a useful steadying element which is indispensable for its normal development. As things are, it possesses a small superficial leading class, that cannot be said to compensate by its quality for its lack of quantity, and a huge mass of almost illiterate peasants that lags far behind. The example of Russia proves the danger that exists for a community which shows such an unstable equilibrium of classes. A solution of the problem would consist in attracting the Jews from the occupations to which they have hitherto been restricted. The Jewish problem in Russia has been solved by adapting the Jews to industry and agriculture. An exceedingly instructive and interesting article entitled "Soviet Russia solves the Jewish Problem," from the pen of Mr Wm. Zukerman, and published in the "Contemporary Review" for Dec., 1931, may well supply useful hints for Rumania. There is no doubt that if the Jews in Rumania enjoyed greater freedom of action they would not concentrate all their activities on commerce, and they would thereby offer to Rumanians more possibilities and better opportunities to engage in trade than they now possess.

[TRANSYLVANIA]

RACIAL ASPECTS OF ROMANIA'S CASE

563 The Szekelys have found during twenty-two years of Romanian administration that the feudal privileges they had enjoyed under Hungary had cost them a high price to uphold and had yielded little real benefit. Indeed, Hungarian propaganda had inspired them with restlessness in the last two decades. But it cannot be doubted that, had the western boundary been settled in good faith, the Szekelys would have found their right place in the Romanian state, the more so as their ethnic origin has never been conclusively proved."

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000 The Peace Conference of 1920 had to struggle as best it could with the statistical approximations submitted by Serbia, Austria, Romania and Hungary in recasting the Eastern European map with which we have been familiar until 1939. The nations that from the beginning have attacked that map are to a large extent responsible for the present war. The changes brought about by this war are forced changes. Whether affecting Romania, as they did in Transylvania and Bessarabia, or any of her former friends and allies, they are changes for the worse in every single instance. Were it practicable to poll national European opinion, the Russian not excepted, hardly anyone would be surprised if the restoration of the *status quo ante* were overwhelmingly upheld.

Broadly, this is forecast by the Atlantic Charter when it proclaims "the desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." Broadly this, and no more, is also Romania's desire when, declining to expand beyond her own domain, she struggles to reconstruct her national unity.

Is this reconstruction justifiable? The question may be answered today with statistical certainties. Where there is a Romanian majority, as indeed there is in every Romanian province, "sovereign rights and self-government," the Atlantic Charter asserts, must be "restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them." There is general agreement

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"Whether they be Huns, Petchenegs, Cabars, Avars, Huno-Avars, Kasaro-Cabars or Gepides, as has been variously contended (Theodorescu, Vasile M., "Transilvania sub Maghiari si Romani," Bucharest, 1941), there is a distinct possibility that while Hungarian-speaking they may not be Hungarians. Historically this supposition is supported by their membership in the "Union of the Three Nations" formed in 1438 with the Hungarians and Saxons. This alliance, adhered to until modern times, argues for a distinct racial identity of Szeklys, the absence of which would have dictated a Union of two, and not of three, nations.

Not less interesting is the argument resting on scientifically conducted blood tests to determine biologically the racial indices of Szeklys, Hungarians and Romanians, the results of which indicate according to Dr. Pierre Ramneantu ("Origine ethnique des Sekiers de Transylvanie" in *Revue de Transylvania*, Vol. 2, No. 1, Cluj, 1935, pp. 45-59) a pronounced dissimilarity between those of Szeklys and Hungarians and an equally marked resemblance between those of Szeklys and Romanians.

12: Koniros S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

The poor clergy are very active in politics and public affairs generally. Their influence, and even more that of the bishops, has not infrequently been abused to further private interests.[1] The majority of the Rumanians are only semi-literate and depend for their information and guidance on the priests. Education has been the weak point of almost all the Rumanian governments. But those Rumanians whose parents have been able to give them a good education have proved that this highly intelligent and gifted people can achieve success in all fields of science and the arts.

THE HUNGARIANS AND THE SZEKELYS. The Hungarians and Szekelys, most of whom came under Rumanian rule after the Great War, live chiefly in Transylvania and the western provinces of Greater Rumania. The forefathers of the Szekelys were brought to these territories by the Hungarian kings and charged with the task of defending and securing the Kingdom's frontiers. The Hungarian nobles and Szekelys were two of the 'Three Ruling Nations' of Transylvania.[2] They were supported and encouraged by their kin in Hungary proper, given many privileges in the economic, political and cultural spheres. Thanks to all this they were able

[1] One blatant example of this occurred about ten years ago when a shepherd, who claimed to have 'visions' and prophetic power was built up into a holy figure. The simple peasants flocked to see and hear him, bringing many gifts. The State railways organized special travel facilities and this enriched many officials and members of the clergy.

[2] The three 'united' or 'recognized nations' of Transylvania were the Hungarian nobility, the Szekelys and the Saxons.

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1944
ED1 Rumania ED1

to develop very favourably. Their villages and towns 563
are well built and neat, their fields well worked. Although by no means rich, these Magyars are generally better off than their Rumanian neighbours. Before the Great War the Magyars of these regions belonged to the dominant section of the population whose leaders controlled all spheres of life. During this period, especially since the eighteen-sixties, the Hungarian Government tried to Magyarize the Rumanians under its rule, using extensive political and economic pressure. This naturally led to great animosity, as the Rumanians resisted these attempts. The reaction came when the position was reversed and the Rumanians became the dominant section of the population. The Rumanian Government's policy towards minorities was anything but democratic; but the Hungarian domination of the Transylvanian Rumanians had even been more effective. Hungarian irredentist movements within Greater Rumania and the revisionist claims of Hungary naturally contributed to a considerable deterioration of relations between the two nations.

THE SLAVS. The main Slav races inhabiting Greater Rumania were the Ukrainians, the Russians and the Bulgarians. The Ukrainians live chiefly in Bessarabia and in the Bukovina where, under Austrian rule, they were on the whole a favoured minority. They and the Russians in these provinces have all the characteristics of their brethren in Poland and the U.S.S.R. Under Rumanian domination they belonged to the worst treated minorities of Europe. The Bulgarians, living in Southern Bessarabia, in the Dobrudja and in the Banat, were in a very

12: Kormos S-4, 5 (no date) 1914
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563 similar position. Only a small number of Bulgarians in the Banat, famous as first-class market-gardeners and fruit-growers, were comparatively well off. There live in Wallachia and in the Banat a number of Serbs, settled there as frontier guards by the Austrian emperors. Some live in villages of their own, some together with German, Rumanian or Hungarian communities. They have strong ties with Yugoslavia, and have achieved comparative prosperity.

THE JEWS. The Jews, who are to be found in all Rumanian provinces and have big communities in Bessarabia and in the Bukovina, have always been a persecuted and oppressed minority. The brand of anti-Semitism encouraged by almost all Rumanian governments resembles that of Tsarist Russia. [661] Whenever something went wrong in politics or economics the Jews were blamed for it and pogroms were organized, sometimes surpassing in violence those of the Tsarist regime. This traditional anti-Semitism has its roots in the period when wealthy Rumanian absentee landlords let their estates to Jewish agents for management and tax-collection. This was a convenient means of laying the blame for exploitation at the door of the Jews, whilst the *boiars* pocketed the taxes and rents.[1] Jewish influence in Rumanian finance and trade has been very great, as was their share in introducing modern industries into the country. Many Jewish families, especially in Moldavia and Wallachia, can trace their association with Rumania back to the early Phanariots. Others have lived for many years in the

[1] Some of the Jewish managers of estates deserved all that came to them; but the resentment which they caused was frequently visited quite unjustly upon obscure Jews who did no kind of harm to their Gentile neighbours.

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Bukovina, in Bessarabia and in Transylvania. The 563
majority has, however, immigrated during the last century. Restrictions on their personal freedom, an almost complete denial of political rights, and organized and government-sponsored pogroms are familiar devices which have been used by most Rumanian regimes. These measures are supported by the ruling circles and certain intellectuals in order to divert the attention of the people from the real causes and the real culprits whenever the country passes through a crisis.

THE GERMANS. The first German colonists who came to Rumania were brought to Transylvania in the twelfth century and given substantial privileges, including the right of self-government. The 'Saxons' constituted the third of the three privileged and ruling 'nations' of Transylvania. They were originally Rhinelanders who were later converted to Protestantism. After the Turkish wars of the eighteenth century Catholic German peasants from Bavaria and the Lorraine were settled by the Empress Maria Theresa in Western Transylvania and in the Banat. The influence of these Germans, as well as of those brought by Tsarist Russia to Bessarabia, has been very strong indeed. German workers have been foremost in many Rumanian industries, German peasants have taught their neighbours improved methods of agriculture and German traders have done a great deal to modernize Rumanian commerce. But all these achievements of the German colonists have been offset by their treacherous behaviour; the call of 'German blood' appealed to them, and they became one of the most powerful of all Nazi Fifth Columns.

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[Transylvania]

175 635 war on their side. In December 1918, after the collapse of the Dual Monarchy, an assembly of delegates of the Transylvanian Rumanians, meeting in Alba Julia, voted for union with the Rumanian Kingdom, and the province was occupied by Rumanian troops. The incorporation of Transylvania was later recognized and endorsed in the Peace Treaties.

563 *Rumanians.* The Rumanians of Transylvania, who form approximately 60% of the principality's population, are in many respects more advanced than their countrymen in Moldavia and Wallachia. The intensive State policy of Magyarization pursued by Budapest in the nineteenth century led to the strengthening of Rumanian national consciousness. The struggle for economic and political rights, however, never led to anything more than the granting of concessions on paper. From the Rumanian point of view the aims of the Transylvanian Rumanians were fulfilled only with the union of their country with the rest of Rumania in 1918. But, even under the Rumanian regime, the Rumanians of Transylvania were unable to gain economically in twenty years what they were prevented from obtaining during several centuries. Most of them were peasants; some were industrial workers; some became civil servants.

Magyars and Szekelys. The 500,000 Szekelys, inhabiting the eastern part of Transylvania, have still preserved some characteristics which make them distinct from the Hungarians, but politically and economically their position is now very similar to that of the Hungarian population which, in

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[Transylvania]

Transylvania is about 500,000[1] strong. Most Hungarians, however, live in the larger villages and in the towns, which during the last century have been Magyarized to a considerable extent. After 1918 the position of the Magyars of Transylvania, compared with that before the Great War, was an unhappy one. There was in practice a discrimination against them and their institutions, which was not unnatural in view of what the Rumanians had suffered at the hands of the Hungarian Government. But the lack of a positive and constructive policy towards the Hungarian minority was just as much due to the revisionist clamour in Hungary and the separatist troubles caused by certain sections of the Hungarian minority, as to the attitude of successive Rumanian governments. 563

Germans. The German minority in Transylvania, about 250,000 strong, consists of two distinct groups: the 'Saxons', settled here in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and later converted to Protestantism; and the 'Aelpler', Catholics from Southern Germany, who immigrated in the eighteenth century. For centuries, and especially when Transylvania was under Austrian rule, these Germans possessed far-reaching privileges which, coupled with their skill and high cultural standard, enabled them to build up a very strong economic position. From the second half of the last century onwards, however, they were subject to a process of Magyarization and deprived of many of their privi-

[1] The total number of people of Hungarian race, including Szekelys, according to the census of 1930, was 1,426,178. By the natural rate of increase they would now number about 1,500,000.

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[Transylvania]

563 leges. In 1919 they accepted the union of Transylvania with the Old Kingdom. In the inter-war period the Germans in Rumania enjoyed a far better treatment than any other minority, and in Transylvania they were by far the most prosperous community. Nevertheless, the pan-German policy of National-Socialism found many supporters in their ranks.

131 648 [161] *Vienna Award.* Before the Vienna Award of 1940 Transylvania covered an area of 24,600 square miles and had a population of over 3,250,000, including 200,000 Jews. The decision of the German and Italian Foreign Ministers in Vienna split Transylvania in two, a measure never before carried out during the eventful history of the principality and certainly harmful and unjust to all the parties concerned. There is no doubt that this 'solution', which has only complicated the Transylvanian question and made its real solution more difficult, was made deliberately in order to make both Hungary and Rumania more dependent on Germany's support.

133 *Geography and Products.* The Transylvanian highlands are surrounded on three sides by the high mountain chains of the Carpathians. In the south-west the border is formed by the 'Western Mountains' (Muntii Apuseni), and in the north-west by the hills which eventually merge into the Hungarian plain. The Rivers Mures, Somes and Tarnava divide the highland in three distinct parts, the steppe, the hills and the forests. Parallel with the outer ring of the Eastern Carpathians there runs a belt of volcanic mountains with many small valleys. In the south-east there is the fertile and hilly district of Trei-

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[The Bukovina]

rule. It was occupied by the Russians in 1769. In 1774 the province was given to Austria, under which it remained until 1918. On 23 October the Austrian governor handed over the Bukovina to the Ukrainian inhabitants of the province; but four days later an assembly of Rumanian Bukovinians declared for the union of the province with Rumania and asked the Rumanian government for military assistance. This was forthcoming on 11 November and added to Rumania a territory of about 4,100 square miles with a population of about 870,000 (1930). Of these over 38% were Ukrainians, 34% Rumanians and 21% Germans and German-speaking Jews. The Rumanian administration began by a vigorous policy of Rumanization. The Ukrainians, who under Austrian rule had been well treated, and the Jews, were the chief sufferers, but the Germans, too, were ousted from many of their positions.[1]

More than half of the Bukovina is covered with dense forests of beech;[2] one-fifth consists of pastures; less than a third is arable land. The province borders in the west on the Carpathians, in the south on Moldavia, in the east on Moldavia and Bessarabia and in the north on Poland. The western part of the Bukovina is formed by the slopes of the Carpathians, where manganese and iron ore are found, especially in the region of Jacobeni. To the east stretches the hilly country, covered with pastures, on which good livestock is raised, and fields of maize, wheat and tobacco. Mineral resources are confined to some small deposits of coal, gold and lead, but the industry of the province is well developed.

[1] The German University of Czernowitz was completely Rumanized soon after the military occupation.

[2] The German name of the province means 'Land of the Beeches'.

[Bessarabia]

000 down after heavy fighting and the burning of many villages.

635 563 [452] The political situation[1] in Bessarabia was partly the cause and partly the effect of economic conditions. Agricultural credit for those peasants who had received land was non-existent. Communications were neglected and allowed to fall into complete decay. There was only a small amount of trade, which was largely in the hands of the Jews. This encouraged the spread of anti-Semitic propaganda which was fostered by the Government. The Ukrainian and Russian population was deprived of all cultural rights. The German minority was the best treated, but even the Rumanians of Bessarabia were regarded by the central government with suspicion.

635 648 Following a demand by the Soviet government, which had never recognized the annexation of Bessarabia, Bessarabia was ceded by Rumania to the U.S.S.R. in June 1940. When Rumania joined Germany in the attack on the Soviet Union in 1941 Bessarabia and the Northern Bukovina were again occupied by Rumanian troops.

[1] [i.e. the frequency of popular uprisings -- Analyst]

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563 177 THE MINORITIES. The presence of large numbers of non-Rumanians in the new State affected the fate of Rumania decisively. While the leaders of the Transylvanian Rumanians, who had themselves had a long experience of foreign rule, advocated a just and liberal policy, the politicians of the Old Kingdom[1] and especially the Right Wing, persisted in a policy of Rumanization and de-nationalization contrary to the Minority Treaties. In Bessarabia this policy was excused by stressing the danger of the spread of revolutionary movements which threatened the safety of the State, and was carried out by the military. In the territories acquired from Hungary the position of the dominant and dominated sections of the people had been reversed so suddenly and so decisively that the change necessarily had violent consequences. Moreover, here the question of the treatment of minorities was closely interlocked with that of administrative unification. The laws and regulations of the Old Kingdom and of the New Territories[2] had to be equalized. The majority of the civil servants in Transylvania were Hungarians and most of these were replaced by Rumanians from the Old Kingdom. Some of the old officials had to be retained, owing to the shortage of trained personnel, and the doubt about their loyalty to the new regime was exploited to strengthen the case for complete centralization.

[1] [Provinces of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Dobrudja--Analyst]

[2] [Territories acquired after World War I--Analyst]

665 565 SOCIAL REFORM. The problem of social reform was the most urgent and the most hotly contested of all. The Transylvanian National Party under the leadership of Maniu, and the Peasant Party of Mihalache,

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especially hard hit by this rampant corruption. The moneyed classes, on the other hand, were well satisfied with this state of affairs which guaranteed the continuance of their rule.

The position of the minorities was unenviable. In theory all non-Rumanians had the same rights and duties as the Rumanians. In practice, however, things were very different. The official language was Rumanian and anybody not able to speak Rumanian was handicapped from the beginning when dealing with the authorities. It was very difficult for members of a minority to obtain schooling in their native language, for although there were some Hungarian and German schools they had to be financed by the respective communities and the fees to be paid were high. A public career for a member of a minority was very rare indeed and non-Rumanians had always to expect unfavourable treatment at the hands of the authorities. The Jews, many of whom were denied Rumanian citizenship and had to pay from time to time for the right to live in the country, were worse off than the rest. Often in addition to being persecuted for their origin they could be victimized for having a Hungarian name and speaking German as their native language.

The mass of the Rumanians did not gain by this discrimination ostensibly made in their favour. At best the half-educated sons of peasants could secure some minor position in the State machinery.

The economic life of the country was dominated by all-powerful monopolies. The oil and heavy industries were in the hands of a few foreign and Rumanian shareholders and the enormous profits were divided between a few industrialists, ministers

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643 found guilty in a libel action. The only immediate
[648] danger, the revisionist claims of Hungary and Bulgaria, was to be eliminated by an even friendlier attitude towards Italy and Germany, and Carol's tour of the European capitals, including London, was intended to reassure the democracies.

643 Beneath the surface, however, the struggle between the Iron Guard and Carol continued. While Carol was on his tour, Codreanu and thirteen of his legionaries were shot by their prison guards. The Minister of the Interior, Calinescu, a former member of the National Peasant Party, who succeeded to the premiership after Miron Cristea's death in March 1939, ordered further repressive measures and was himself assassinated by Iron Guardists in the autumn of the same year.

• 563 668 THE FIFTH COLUMN. Nazi Germany found an extremely fertile soil for its propaganda not only among the Rumanian Fascist parties and some generals and industrialists, but also amongst the many Germans living in Rumania. They were economically prosperous and the best treated of all minorities in Rumania. The most important communities were the settlements in Transylvania and in the Banat. At first Nazi propaganda was not very successful owing to the economically favourable position of these Germans and their comparatively strong religious feeling.[1] But as time went on it had great successes. Under the cloak of cultural associations Nazi cells were formed which soon spread into every German village. Unwilling Germans were

[1] The 'Saxons' are Protestants, the 'Aelpler', also in Transylvania, and the 'Schwaben' of the Banat Roman Catholics.

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forced into these organizations by social and economic pressure. Combatant units, armed and trained, consisted of youths who learned the Nazi doctrine in their schools. Financial assistance came from the German banks in Rumania: they supported the transactions of the 'Association for Export to Germany', which secured a virtual monopoly in the export trade of grain, cattle and pigs to Germany and Italy, as well as the hemp-growing scheme, which met with considerable success in the Banat.

Similarly the German papers published in Rumania soon passed under Nazi control. Their information was received from news agencies in Germany which also supplied them with commentaries and feature articles. Naturally the Rumanian Fascists were supported by the German-Rumanian Nazis who acted as go-betweens and agents of their masters in the Reich.[1]

The pro-Nazi Germans of Rumania who had always possessed good economic, industrial and financial connexions were able to render valuable assistance in the economic penetration of the country by German trusts. In 1933, for example, the fusion of several chemical firms in the Banat and in Wallachia brought them entirely under German control. That they produced semi-finished material for explosives enhanced their value. The iron and

[1] The outrages of the Iron Guard, such as the desecration of Jewish synagogues and cemeteries, destruction of Jewish shops, political murder and blackmail, were aided and abetted by the German Nazi agents. A series of fires and bomb-explosions in Timisoara in November 1938, as well as other terrorist acts, were committed by members of the Iron Guard jointly with some German youths who were known to the public but escaped punishment.

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steel works of Resita and Copsa Mica, with a capital of six million pounds sterling, and many other factories also passed under German control. In the fight against Franco-British and American capital in Rumania, Germany was favoured by the fact that 50% of Rumania's imports were German, and 36% of the country's exports went to Germany (1938). By 1940 the latter had reached about 70% of the total.

This underground activity of the German minority, combined with the pro-Fascist leanings of the majority of the ruling classes, who feared to lose their privileges and were only too glad to join in the Anti-Bolshevik[1] crusade, and the corruption reigning in the army and all branches of the government apparatus, sapped the strength of the country economically, politically and morally. It had become an easy prey for the imperialism of Hitler.

[1] Especially savage measures were taken against workers' and intellectuals' progressive organizations, which were made illegal and had to go underground. Their members, if caught, were court-martialled and imprisoned.

241 the peasants and the reduced 1942 sowings both
656 of grain and of sugar-beet indicated continued
435 dissatisfaction. Finally, by the spring of 1943 a wiser ratio was reached, agricultural prices being four times as high as in 1939 and wholesale prices in general three and a half times as high. Nevertheless, this very considerable measure of inflation [459] has shaken public confidence in the value of money so that peasants increasingly resort to barter transactions.

[655] In the hope of obtaining better control over grain supplies the Government in the autumn of 1941 nationalised the grain trade, later they relaxed this to the extent of leaving the export business to a few selected firms and the internal collection to the Army and to the National Institute of Co-operation. This body handled the pre-war grain marketing scheme, and their ●[563] activities—because of the expulsion of Jews from wholesale and retail trade—have recently developed rapidly in the supply of seeds to peasants (80,000 tons of seed distributed in 1942) as well as consumers' goods to peasants and townspeople. But it still proved difficult to extract enough food from the peasants to feed the towns. For the 1943 harvest detailed regulations were made concerning the quantities the peasant might keep for seed, for his family and for his animals, and threshing operations were subjected to inspection. Yet these rules could not in practice be administered.

423 It is now generally agreed in Rumania that the
471 smallness of the holdings has been a principal obstacle to effective organisation of agriculture in war-time, and that a change to larger units of production is needed. Any approach to collectivisation on the Soviet model, however, would be regarded as contradictory to the land reform policy and a threat to the Rumanian State. The official policy, though it has not yet taken its final form, is to maintain private property but to proceed no further with expropriation and division of large estates, and to maintain existing medium holdings by prohibiting their sub-division for inheritance or other reasons. Schemes for the consolidation of strips are also contemplated for a more opportune moment. Further, in order to
474 increase production and to improve the peasants' methods and standards of life, communal farming associations, known as *obști*, are to be formed. In these associations, farming equipment is to be pooled so that the small-holder would have the same resources as the large farmer. Each *obște* is to embrace a village and perform all the functions of a co-operative, including joint purchase and sale, use of breeding animals, processing of crops, etc. Villages which are prepared to form themselves into *obști* and to undertake to work the land according to State directions, are promised tractors, seed and breeding stock without payment. In this way it is hoped that some of the advantages of collectivisation may be achieved while retaining those of individual ownership. But, unless accompanied by far-reaching industrial development, the plan can but aggravate rural unemployment. It is not known how this innovation has been received by the peasants. It was reported in April 1943 that 270 of these communal associations had been formed—an insignificant number—and it is believed that the Government is allocating to them some of the tractors imported from Germany in the war years.*

241 The success of the *obști* plan, and indeed of any plan for up-grading Rumanian agriculture, depends

* In June, 1943 a temporary ban was placed on the formation of any new *obște*, because there was insufficient agricultural machinery to supply to them.

B. LABOUR POSITION DURING THE WAR

1. Military Conscription

701 The age limits for mobilisation are 19–50, while youths from 17–18 are liable for pre-military training.

During 1942 there have been several indications of the strain which further mobilisation was putting on Rumania's manpower; for example, in April 1942 the sentences on political prisoners were suspended and they were called into the army, while from July of that year onwards there has been a constant revision of previous exemptions and a tightening of control over the granting of leave and call-up. Military service, which previously had been obligatory for Rumanian citizens only, was made compulsory for all non-nationals* resident in the country, and further a decree was passed mobilising all Rumanians of military age resident abroad. [563]

It is calculated that it has never been possible for Rumania to have more than 800,000 men properly equipped under arms at one period. The actual strength of the army has fluctuated considerably during the last two years, as has the number on the eastern front, but a reasonable average figure would be 500,000, of which 200,000 on the eastern front.

727 Rumanian casualties are difficult to assess. 464 One estimate at the end of 1941 put casualties at 150,000, while total casualties up to May 1943 have been estimated at 350,000. Military mobilisation will probably have meant a loss of some 800,000 men to the general labour supply.

2. Recruitment for Germany

464 The recruitment of workers for Germany has 167 been on a small scale, which is not surprising, as Rumania's military contribution has been considerable, and the military mobilisation has already reduced the supply of labour needed for the Rumanian armament industry to a minimum. Such labour as might be available for export is unskilled and therefore of less value to Germany. The total number of Rumanian workers in Germany in December, 1942, was estimated at 14,000. Of these 10,000 were young Rumanians 18–19, who were recruited at the end of 1941 to be "trained" in German metallurgical factories. 1,000 are women employed as domestic servants, and the rest are mainly unskilled general workers.

3. Foreign Workers in Rumania

648 In addition to the German administrators and 463 directors, who are in certain of the key positions in Rumanian industry, there is also evidence of skilled German technicians in Rumanian armament factories. In 1942 there was a nucleus of the German Todt organisation, and Italian builders, in the country.

727 About 40,000 Russian prisoners of war are employed, chiefly in agriculture, though also in mining and navvying work.

C. GENERAL LABOUR DEVELOPMENTS

464 In 1937 the average unemployment figure was 722 12,000. The dislocation of trade and industry on the outbreak of war temporarily caused a general increase of unemployment, which was rapidly absorbed by the military call-up and increased activity in the armaments industry. In March

* The German minority was already liable for military service, either in the Rumanian or German army and in December, 1942, it was announced that there were 30,000 *Volksdeutsche* in the Rumanian Army.

[55a]

E. THE JEWISH POPULATION

The Jewish population of Rumania for 1938 is given as 800,000, and for July, 1942, as 270,000. This reduction came about as follows :—

Total, 1938	800,000
Lost to Hungary	200,000
Taken to Russia from Bessarabia and Bucovina by Russians	130,000
Expelled from Bessarabia and other areas by Rumanians to Transnistria, and deaths from unnatural causes in Rumania	200,000
Total losses	530,000
Total, 1942	270,000

The occupational distribution of the Jews in 1930 :—

	Per cent.	
Agriculture	4·1	
Industry and trade	32·8	81·1
Commerce and credit	48·3	
Transport	2·4	
Professions and Public Services ..	2·7	
Army	1·9	
Miscellaneous	7·8	

It is calculated that in 1939 at least one-sixth of the industrial and half of the commercial population were Jews. During the war Rumanian policy has been to exclude Jews from business and from commercial and professional activity. This process of Rumanisation, while pursued ruthlessly in the provinces of Bessarabia and Bucovina, has been limited in the more industrial areas such as Bucarest by the simple fact that Rumanian industry and trade are dependent to such an extent on Jewish capital and leadership, and there is no doubt that the shortage of labour in industry has been seriously aggravated by the anti-Jewish policy. The degree of Rumanisation so far achieved is given by the following examples :—

Bucarest :—

Number of firms employing Jews, November 1940	8,126
Number of firms employing Jews, December 1942	4,301

Such Jews as are deemed necessary for war production are granted labour permits, whereby they may remain in their profession, but are subject to heavy taxation. Jews who are expelled from their normal activity are compulsorily enrolled in the Jewish labour service and employed chiefly on road work, or, alternatively, they are sent to concentration camps.

(*See* also "Note on Jews in Rumania," Part II, Chapter VIII.)

F. WAGES

1. General

The average wage (industrial, commercial and agricultural professions) in 1938 was 1,853 lei per month. The highest average wages were found in the mining, food and transport industries, followed by commerce, textiles, skins, glass and stone, while in the metallurgical industry wages were below the average. The most noticeable feature of pre-war Rumanian wage statistics is the great regional variations, the extreme averages being 889 and 3,059 lei per month.

During the war, various attempts at fixing the wage level have failed to keep pace with the rising cost of living. On the whole it would have been surprising if a wage stop could have been successfully applied in Rumania, because of the great

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712 The stairway, about 1.25 meters wide made of massive logs, is generally on the inside of the buildings; when it is located on the outside it leads onto the wooden balcony. The exterior is white-washed. In addition, the surface is decorated with molded bands [531] around each story division. There may also be a vertical division, thus creating a number of large panels. While these areas are symmetrical, neither they nor the molded bands that enclose them have any relation to the placing of windows or pillars (Jänecke, 1918: 62-63).

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[175] In 1895 there still existed about 55,000 earth huts (bordei) which were inhabited by the poorest population, generally Gypsies [563] (fig. 63). They are common in the Danubian plain. Over an excavation 1-3 meters deep is placed a gabled roof. The roof is made of boards over which earth is laid. Sometimes reeds are placed over the boards before the earthen cover is added. The entrance is on one of the gabled sides, generally with a southerly exposure, and a window is placed on each gable side (Jänecke, 1918: 4).

343
351 Farm Buildings. In the lowlands the buildings are arranged in no definite order; though generally the house is closest to the road. The corn-house (colar) is either opposite to or at right angles to the house so that it can be watched. The yard and orchard are surrounded by a fence. The simplest fence is made of wickerwork between wooden poles. More often, however, it is made of boards [556] that have intricate excised designs (fig. 60). The wealthy people [563] may add an imposing gateway with a small door. Flower or vegetable [244] gardens are rare, and the latter are called bulgări, since they are [247] generally kept by immigrant Bulgarians who grow all the vegetables [245] for town consumption (Stratilesco, 1907: 233). The farmstead is surrounded by shady trees, and there is generally a plum orchard at the back of the farm buildings (Jänecke, 1918: 8-9).

[184] In the mountain regions the arrangement of the buildings in the yard differs from that of the lowlands. The stables and other buildings are arranged on the border of the yard in a horseshoe form to serve as protection for the house. The yard is usually very small, and has a strong high palisade with a massive gateway, the whole giving the farm a fortress-like appearance (the author points to the presence of bears in summer and wolves in winter) (Jänecke, 1918: 32-35).

343
[184] In the lowlands there are generally not many additional farm buildings in the yard, and this fact is correlated with the pattern of building additional annexes to the house, a more economical and practical procedure. Stables are of the simplest lathwork or wickerwork, covered with a straw roof. Sheds for the storage of straw, hay and cornstalks are absent, for the latter are stacked into tall round piles in the open. The baking oven for summer use, made of mud and bricks, has a hipped roof supported by four pillars.